

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EA-06

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S E C R E T TOKYO 14984

LIMDIS

FOR EA AND INR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JA, CH
SUBJECT: INTERPRETATION OF SINO-JAPANESE PFT

REF: (A) CFR ISSUE 33, (B) TOKYO 14704

1. WE ARE THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT PFT SIGNED AUGUST 12
LENDERS ITSELF TO MORE THAN ONE EVALUATION, BUT WE ARE DIS-
TURBED AT SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS IN THE INR PIECE APPEAR-
ING IN THE MOST RECENT CFR, PARTICULARLY INASMUCH AS THIS
IS CIRCULATED TO POSTS THAT DO NOT NECESSARILY HAVE ACCESS
TO OTHER TRAFFIC BEARING ON THE SUBJECT.

2. INR PIECE LEADING OFF WITH STATEMENT "PEKING GOT WHAT
IT WANTED" STRIKES US AS PRESENTING SOMEWHAT DISTORTED
PICTURE. IN OUR VIEW END PRODUCT, LIKE MOST DOCUMENTS OF
THIS SORT, METICULOUSLY NEGOTIATED OVER EXTENDED PERIOD OF
TIME, CAME OUT AS FAIRLY EVEN BALANCE SHEET. WHEREAS IT IS
TRUE THAT PEKING INTENDS THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE TO BE
INTERPRETED AS AIMED AT USSR -- AN INTERPRETATION STRENGTH-

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ENED BY SOVIET COMMENTARY ON THE PFT -- SIGNIFICANT CHINESE
CONCESSIONS ON MANNER IN WHICH CLAUSE WAS HANDLED, ADDI-
TION OF "SOFT" LANGUAGE CLARIFYING THAT TREATY IS NOT
DIRECTED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY, COUPLED WITH SUBSEQUENT
JAPANESE INTERPRETATIONS, ENABLED GOJ TO ACHIEVE ESSENTIALLY
WHAT IT INTENDED FROM THE START IN THIS REGARD. SATISFAC-
TORY EXPLANATION ON SENKAKU ISLANDS, (WHICH WE DO NOT FIND

SUBSTANTIALLY UPSET BY SUBSEQUENT ARTICLE IN HONG KONG PRESS REASSERTING ISSUE IS UNSETTLED), FINESSING OF CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE, AND INDICATION OF INTENTION TO LET SINO-SOVIET TREATY LAPSE UPON EXPIRATION -- ALL NOTED BY INR -- WERE SUBSTANTIAL PLUSES FOR GOJ.

3. WE DO NOT BELIEVE JAPAN LOOKS UPON TREATY AS ENABLING IT "TO STAY ONE STEP AHEAD OF U.S. IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA." TO THE CONTRARY, JAPANESE DO NOT LOOK ON CHINA RELATIONS AS A CONTEST BUT ARE ANXIOUS THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT MOVE HASTILY TOWARD NORMALIZATION IF IT SHOULD AFFECT RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN IN WAYS THAT WOULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS FOR JAPAN'S SUBSTANTIAL STAKE THERE. WE HAVE ENJOYED ALMOST TOTAL HARMONY OF VIEW IN OUR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO CHINA ISSUES OVER THE PAST YEAR OR TWO, AND WHILE WE ANTICIPATE SUBSTANTIAL JAPANESE EFFORT TO CAPITALIZE ON PFT ACHIEVEMENT, WE SENSE NO DESIRE TO DO SO IN SPIRIT OF BEATING US OUT.

4. WE AGREE THAT OHIRA HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF WHATEVER TACTICAL ADVANTAGE HE MIGHT HAVE SECURED IN HIS EFFORTS TO SUCCEED FUKUDA HAD LATTER FALLEN ON HIS FACE DURING PFT NEGOTIATIONS. HAVING SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE LOYAL TO GOVERNMENT AND PARTY ON ALMOST ALL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES SINCE FUKUDA TOOK OFFICE, HOWEVER, IF HE IS FRUSTRATED HE IS KEEPING IT TO HIMSELF. OHIRA'S PUBLIC POSTURE IS TO
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RECALL THAT HE WAS SERVING AS FONMIN AT TIME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WERE ESTABLISHED WITH PRC AND TO APPLAUD CONCLUSION OF TREATY. OUR GUESS IS THAT OHIRA CONTINUES TO REGARD HIS SUCCESSION TO FUKUDA AS CONSENSUALLY ESTABLISHED AND IS CONTENTED TO WAIT HIS TURN EVEN IF IT TAKES ANOTHER YEAR. BY SAME TOKEN, THE LEFTIST PARTIES, JCP EXCEPTED, HAVE SENSIBLY MADE THE MOST OF SITUATION, CHIMING IN TO WELCOME PFT. WHILE THIS HARDLY HELPS THEM GET AHEAD IN THE WORLD, IT HAS PREVENTED THEM FROM LOOKING FOOLISH.

5. WE HAVE READ WITH INTEREST REPORTING ON PFT FROM PEKING AND MOSCOW. SHOULD DEPARTMENT BELIEVE THERE IS SUFFICIENT INTEREST IN TREATY IT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER WIDER DISSEMINATION OF SOME OF THIS MATERIAL, AS WELL AS ASSESSMENT IN REF B. MANSFIELD

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NNN

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